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Its old pillow was put under the bed. The body was covered with a cotton or satin cloth instead of the usual bed quilt. A piece about one foot long was torn from this cover before the body was put into the coffin.

A paper screen was placed in front of the bed and later in front of the coffin to keep out the sunlight. The sun, belonging to the yang half of the universe, would be harmful to the spirit of the departed as it belonged to the yin half.

On the first evening after the death the sons of the deceased went to the Wu Tao temple to announce the death to the gods. Mourning papers and incense were burned before the altar and the gods were worshiped. On their way home the group all wept bitterly and continually until they returned to the bedside of the dead. While the sons went to the temple the rest of the family stayed at home in silence. If there was no Wu Tao temple in the area the death was announced to the gods at a nearby crossroads.

The body was usually placed in the coffin the day after death. Rich families often had the coffin especially made years before a person was expected to die. Families without money purchased a coffin with hastily borrowed money. Some poor families got the money for their coffins from friends or from charitable gifts of wealthier families.

A layer of ashes, covered with paper, was put in the coffin before it was placed by the wooden bed of the deceased. The face and eyes of the dead were carefully washed before the body was put into the coffin so that they could show their brightness after death. The sons and daughters of the deceased each took a handful of coins and spread them in the coffin. Sometimes close friends of the family would pick out some of the coins so they might be worn by their children. The wearing of such a coin was thought to hurry the child's development. As the body was placed in the coffin the family repeated, "Please listen, Father (Mother), we are going to put your body in the treasure chest". Seven dried stalks of grain, arranged in the form of a stick, were put into the hands of the body so that the spirit would not be bitten by a dog in the other world. When the body had been properly arranged the coffin was covered and nailed. The wooden bed was taken outside, washed, and dried and was not used for three days.

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After death a final meal of rice was prepared for the dead, put into a bowl, and placed on the cover of the coffin. A table was placed at the head of the coffin. On it were a dish of fruit, a bowl of cooked rice, an

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765 incense burner, a lamp, and mourning papers. The oil lamp was kept lit day and night. Mourners who came to pay their respects to the dead lit the mourning papers from the lamp and burned them to illuminate the way for the dead and so keep him from going astray.

On the night after the body was put into the coffin, usually the second night after death, the members of the family, except the sons who stayed at home to mourn, went to the T'u Ti temple to worship. They carried with them a broom, a stick, and a gown belonging to the dead person. The broom, with the stick tied across it, was placed before the altar of the god and later was covered with the gown. The family carried the broom back home saying "Father (Mother), please dress yourself and have something to eat. We are going to send you away to heaven in a cart".

When they got home they set up a table on the roadside outside the gate. On the table were placed three bowls of meat dumplings, a mirror, a handkerchief, and a basin (a feast and toilet equipment for the dead). A circle of ashes was spread in the road and into this was put a horse and cart made of paper and kaoliang stalks. Sometimes a paper image of a cart driver was added. The horse, cart, and driver were set facing the east. Then they were burned in order to provide transportation for the spirit to the Western Heaven and to keep it from becoming too tired from walking. The ashes were put around the paper horse and cart to insure their use by the deceased, and to prevent any wandering orphaned spirits from coming near and taking the cart as it burned.

Some families made special flour cakes to be burned with the horse and cart. The number of cakes was equal to the age of the deceased. It was said that if, the next morning, a boy picked up a cake and ate it he would grow up to be brave and strong.

763 When a death occurred neighbors often spread ashes in front of their doorways to keep the departed spirit from entering. The spirits avoided the ashes lest they show their presence by leaving a footprint in them. Spirits also feared ashes as fire, which ashes represent, is a yang element while ghosts belong to the yin part of the universe. Ashes were put before the family gate when a man went to pay his respects to the dead in a neighbor's family, so that when he returned the spirit of the departed could not come back with him.

764 If the funeral was for a member of a wealthy family a mat shed was built over the courtyard, furniture was rented, and a feast was provided

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for the friends and relatives who came for the memorial service; paper houses, paper servants, paper rolls of cloth, paper flowers, paper models of any article of which the dead was particularly fond were purchased; bands were hired to furnish music; sometimes troupes of actors were engaged to give plays; Taoist or Buddhist monks (or both) were called in to hold services for the soul of the departed. These services were generally held both before and on the day of the funeral.

When the father or mother of a family died every one in the family, men, women, and children, put on mourning clothes of white coarse cloth, and a white sash, a white cap, and white shoes. Near male relatives wore white caps and shoes. Near female relatives wrapped a white cloth around their head. Friends or distant relatives wore a piece of white cloth pinned to their coat. Full mourning clothes were worn until after the funeral, but some sign of mourning, usually white shoes and sometimes a white button on a hat, was worn for two and a half years for a father and three years for a mother.

Friends and relatives who came to pay their respects to the dead and condole with the family usually burned some mourning papers and bowed or kotowed four times before the coffin. The sons of the family knelt at the left side of the coffin and returned the bows or kotows. Along with the mourning papers some visitors burned paper money to help provide funds for the spirit of the deceased. This cost about 20 cents.

Relatives and friends generally brought or sent some gifts. Meat, wheat cakes, fruit, and other food were often sent to help furnish the food for the visitors. Other presents were white scrolls, cloth curtains with gilt paper characters pinned to them expressing laudatory statements concerning the deceased or expressions of condolence, and money, usually from 100 coppers up to $1.00.

On the day of the funeral, before the coffin was carried out, the chief monk stood before the tablet of the dead and with the other monks read the Buddhist scriptures. A member of the family took a broom and a winnowing basket and swept the coffin to make sure that money would come into the house instead of being left outside. The sons knelt before the coffin and burned yellow papers, putting them in a small basin that had stood at the head of the coffin. As the coffin moved from the house this bowl was broken to signify that the mourning services were over. This bowl usually had a hole in the bottom as it was be-

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765 lieved that the spirit of the deceased would be required to use the bowl to drink the water it had wasted in this world. The hole in the bottom would allow much of the water to run away and so save the spirit a large part of its task.

The catafalque most generally used in Ting Hsien was hung from a long pole the front of which was a dragon's head and the end a phoenix's tail. The catafalque was carried by 16, 32, or 36 men. There was a coffin cart that was pulled by 30 men. In very fine funerals the coffin was carried on a platform placed on two large red lacquered poles and surmounted with a high framework hung with red curtains, similar to the big catafalque often used in Peking.

The musicians and priests preceded the coffin. The sons of the deceased walked immediately in front of the catafalque. The oldest son usually carried a special soul flag, carrying it in his left or right hand depending on the sex of the deceased. Other sons carried mourning sticks, wrapped in white. The women of the family rode in carts and followed the coffin.

Friends or relatives sometimes set a small table at the side of the road to show their respect for the person being buried and their sympathy for the family. On the table they put wine, pork, chicken, fruit, paper money, and incense. When the procession came to the table the catafalque would stop, the friends and relatives would kotow to the coffin and the sons would kneel and return the kotow. This was the "libation in the road".

Paper money, shaped like large cash, was often thrown into the air as the funeral procession went along the road. This was "money to buy the use of the road" and was to placate the wandering spirits and keep them from doing harm to the spirit of the deceased or his family. [767] These papers were quickly picked up by spectators as they were thought to be very beneficial for scabies.

765 The time between death and burial varied greatly, depending on the status of the family and the will of the geomancer. He was usually 787 called upon to locate a suitable grave, to set the day when the feng shui would be propitious, and to use his compass to see that the coffin was located in the grave so that it would be in line with the strongest influences and forces of the spirit world. If graveyard and graves were properly located it was believed that it would help the family become rich and prosperous. The seventh day after death was the usual time for

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burial among the better-off families. Poorer families, who had fewer arrangements to make and were less able to give time to mourning, usually waited only three days. Wealthy families often had special memorial services on the seventh day after death and might delay the actual burial beyond that time.

At the grave the coffin was lowered into the earth and then its axis was carefully located according to the geomancer's compass. A small jar containing food was generally placed at the head of the coffin to provide sustenance for the departed. The sons walked around the tomb three times after the coffin was in place and before the grave was filled. The paper houses, servants, and cloth were burned. The women of the family generally carried home with them some of the earth from the grave in order to bring riches to the family.

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After the burial the funeral party returned home along the same road by which they came and after leaving the grave they were not to look back until they had reached home.

On the third day after the burial the descendants of the deceased went to visit the tomb. They took paper money, fruit, and cakes with them and they wept before the grave.

The 21st and 35th days after death were generally two special memorial days for the departed. The family, men and women, burned mourning papers and incense and wept before the tomb. After those special days the deceased were remembered at Ch'ing Ming and on the first of the 10th moon, along with all the ancestors. Then the graves were repaired, food was offered, and incense was burned. Sometimes paper clothes, paper money, and other paper items were burned grave mounds to keep evil spirits away. On the 30th of the 12th moon the ancestral spirits were invited to spend the first five days of the New Year with their descendants.

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Funeral expenses varied with the financial condition of the family, but almost always were a heavy drain on the family finances. Coffins for adults cost anywhere from $7.00 to $300 or more. Grave clothes for a parent of a wealthy family cost from $80 to $150 and from $30 to $60 for a middle-class family. From $150 to $300 might be spent on food and music, while another $200 to $300 might be needed to cover the cost of mourning clothes, paper images, and priests. The average total funeral

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The clan property was usually land that had been given or left as a legacy to the clan by some of its prosperous members. The land was regularly rented. Any money included in the clan property was usually loaned at interest, ordinarily at 1.5 per cent per month. The clan property was looked after in turn by the different families. The details on some clan property, income, and expenses are given in Chapter II.

It was said that the geomancers who helped locate suitable graves must spend 10 years before they could properly recognize the footprints of the dragon and 20 years before they could master the art of locating peaceful graves. Also that, as the dragon is an animal that walks near the water, it is proper to locate graves near the water.

When a family graveyard had been filled the geomancer was called in to find a new burial plot with auspicious influences that would add to the family welfare. This might be one plot for the large family or, if there were several families whose ancestors were buried in the original graveyard, each family might establish a separate plot in the same way that a family was often divided after the death of the father, with the sons setting up separate households.

In order to maintain the continuity of the generations some families exhumed their parents' bones and buried them in the position of honor at the top of the new graveyard. Whether this was done or not depended on the will of the clan and the decision of the geomancer. Neither would allow anything that would break the auspicious influence of the old graveyard.

If the decision was against moving the parents' bones a small symbolic coffin was often buried in the new graveyard. Then the current head of the family and his wife would be buried at the top of the plot, his sons and their wives in the next row and his grandsons and their wives in the third row.

If the geomancer approved of moving the parents' bones from the old to the new graveyard, the grave was opened at night or a mat-shed was built over the grave to keep out the sunlight lest it harm the spirits of the dead. A small coffin would still be used to hold the bones that were moved from the old to the new graveyard.

Proverbs

Proverbs, customary sayings, and rhymes were very numerous in the Ting Hsien villages. A few samples, selected by our Chinese associates,

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15 plates and 32 boxes of noodles, 22 plates of peach bread and one steamed pudding, eight packages of tea-leaves, fruit, 16 bottles of wine. Wine and tobacco purchased by the family cost $4.90. Tips amounted to $5.45, food money to chauffeurs and ricksha men 95 cents. Repairing the stove cost $5.80, and new dishes $8. Sandalwood incense cost only 30 coppers, 7 cents, and the God of Longevity 32 coppers, 8 cents.

The itemized expenditures for meat, condiments and vegetables are given, as the complete detail often brings out many items of interest ordinarily lost in group totals.

Funeral No. 1

When a family of five with an income of only $14 a month buries a two-year-old younger son, the funeral expenses are apt to be close to the absolute minimum. The actual amount paid by such a family was $1.82. The coffin, made of plain thin boards, cost $1.20; digging the grave 27 cents. The man who carried the coffin to the cemetery outside the city received 20 cents. The funeral permit cost 11 cents, and 4 cents was spent for paper money. Medicine given the boy during his last illness cost 56 cents.

Other families with incomes of $15 and $20 a month paid $2 and $3 for the funerals of one-year-old and two-year-old girls. A family with an income of $47 a month spent $5.45 for the funeral of a one-year-old boy.

Funeral No. 2

A Mohammedan family of seven with a monthly income of $100 paid only $8.50 for the funeral of a two-year-old daughter. White cloth for the shroud cost $1.50, the coffin carriers received $3, the priests $2, and the grave cost $2. The expenditure for "Health" for the four months before the girl's death amounted to $70.

The usual expense for a coffin is conspicuous by its absence, as the Mohammedans bury their dead without coffins. The

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other Chinese often accuse the Mohammedans of being too stingy to buy coffins for their dead, a taunt that is never well received and has many times caused trouble.

Funeral No. 3

A peddler and his wife, who had an income of less than $15 a month, spent $18.10 for the funeral of their only son, a seventeen-year-old boy. This youth had added to the family income by his work in a barber shop. Earlier he had been an itinerant barber, carrying his tools, water, supplies with him, as he went from house to house looking for trade.

The coffin his parents selected cost $10.50. They paid $1 to those who put the body into the coffin, and $3.50 to the bearers who carried it from the house to the grave. The priests they called in received $2. One dollar was spent for paper money and other paper articles which were burned so the boy might have them to use in the other world. The funeral permit cost 10 cents. Ninety-nine cents was spent for medicine while the boy was sick. Presents of money given by friends at the time of the funeral amounted to $3.45.

Funeral No. 4

Twenty-seven dollars was the amount a teacher earning $25 a month paid for the funeral of his twenty-six-year-old daughter-in-law. The woman and her daughter had been living in Peiping with the father-in-law while the husband was teaching school in another city. Apparently the funeral was a simple one. The coffin cost $12, digging the grave $5, and the carriers were paid $10. The family did not report any expenditure for a feast, or even any for incense, but these and other expenses may have been met by the husband. The funeral presents amounted to $14. The family paid 38 coppers (10 cents) to a fortune-teller the month before the daughter-in-law died, but that was probably for the amusement of the granddaughter at Chinese New Year.

The father-in-law had previously lost two wives. He was

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first married when he was eighteen or nineteen, and at the age of forty-eight was living with his third wife. He has two living children, a son and a thirteen-year-old daughter. It is not known whether there have been other children in the family.

Funeral No. 5

The close interdependence of Chinese families was well illustrated when a bread-seller making some $17 a month spent $26.10 for the funeral of his brother, even though the brother was not a member of the Peiping household. The bread-seller received from his friends in Peiping funeral presents amounting to $4.90.

Funeral No. 6

The funeral of an older brother makes a demand on a family next to that of a parent, especially when, as in this case, the brother was a man sixty-six years of age. The income of the family, derived from property, was $48 a month; the total expenditure for the funeral, $147.30, or more than three months' income. Since the family owned property, it would be able to draw on its capital for special expenditure, and probably would feel obligated to spend a larger amount for a funeral, than if a similar income was received from salaries. The household consisted of eight persons, and included three generations.

The funeral presents from relatives included a white *p'ai-lou*, or gateway, decorated with silk and paper flowers, to stand in front of the main gateway of the house at the time of the funeral ceremonies; a set of paper figures to be burned at the grave; a large white scroll with the man's name written on it, to be hung in the mat pavilion that was built in the courtyard to provide space for the feast and ceremonies; and a box of meat to be placed before the coffin by a relative as a special offering to the spirit of the departed. The cash presents amounted to $35.20.

The large heavy wood coffin cost $53. The men who brought the coffin to the house were paid $1.50, those who carried it to the cemetery $19. For the religious part of the funeral, the officiating

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priests received $5. The feast served to visiting friends and relatives cost $20 for food, and $8.05 for fuel and service. A considerable number of persons could be served for this amount, as the feast was principally pork, noodles, steamed bread and vegetables. Since noodles and steamed bread were served rather than rice, the feast was an inexpensive one.

There could not have been a great deal of space in the mat pavilion, as the rent for it and the extra tables and chairs was only $2.15. As space is nearly always limited, it is not the custom to serve the funeral feast to all the guests at the same time. Ordinarily, they are served as they arrive. The feast is continued most of the day, but there are few visitors, as a rule, between the hours of one and four in the afternoon.

Ten dollars was spent for white cloth used to make mourning clothes for the family. The grave-clothes of the dead cost another $10. Thirty-six cents was paid for the rent of some special clothes worn for the funeral.

Only 4 cents was spent for incense, but relatives and close friends probably gave additional incense, and the family may have had some on hand. The paper money burned for the spirit of the dead cost $1.10. One hundred and forty coppers (36 cents) was spent for the special bread offered before the coffin, and 100 coppers (26 cents) for the baked-clay dish that stands in front of the coffin while it is in the house, and is thrown on the ground and broken as the coffin is carried away. In some families, the one who breaks the dish is thereby given a claim on the family inheritance. Ordinarily it is the oldest son who performs this ceremony, but if he is away at the time of the funeral, his substitute may acquire the right to claim part of his share of the estate.

The other expenses were:

Digging the Grave	$3.20
Burial Permit	1.00
Carts for the Funeral	6.75
Invitations	1.25
Ricksha Fare	.45
Service and Tips	5.35
Miscellaneous	2.75

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Funeral No. 7

A fifty-six-year-old widow paid $143.25 for the funeral of her sixty-year-old husband. This was almost five times their usual monthly income. Over $100 of the funeral expenses had to be met by borrowing, as the funeral presents amounted only to $35.20 and the family had no surplus. They were not living within their income and, the month before the funeral, had had to borrow $100 to meet the deficit accumulated during the first half of the year. Probably borrowing was fairly easy, as the couple had accumulated enough property to give them an income of some $30 a month from rent. A fourteen-year-old boy and a sixteen-year-old girl were the other members of the family.

In their main items, this funeral and the preceding one are almost identical. The coffin cost $53, the grave-clothes $10. The funeral shop charged $19 for the carriers, the musicians, and the use of the funeral equipment. The Buddhist monks received $5. Digging the grave cost $3, and the death certificate $1. Presents and food placed before the coffin cost $1.35; paper money, $1.10; other paper articles to be burned, $3; paper flowers, 22 cents.

The family spent $10 for white cloth for their mourning clothes, 100 coppers (26 cents) for the rent of the special clothes worn at the funeral; and 15 cents for the rent of the white cloth cover put on the Peiping cart in which the widow rode to the cemetery.

Food for the funeral feast cost $17.40; and fuel and service $4.85. The rent of the tables, chairs, and other equipment for the feast was $2.50. Carts for the funeral, rickshas, and other transportation cost $7.90. Miscellaneous expenditure was 56 cents. Only 100 coppers (26 cents) was spent for tobacco.

Funeral No. 8

A government school-teacher spent $96.50 for the funeral of his twenty-one-year-old wife. This amount was more than three times his usual monthly salary, and 42 per cent of the amount he

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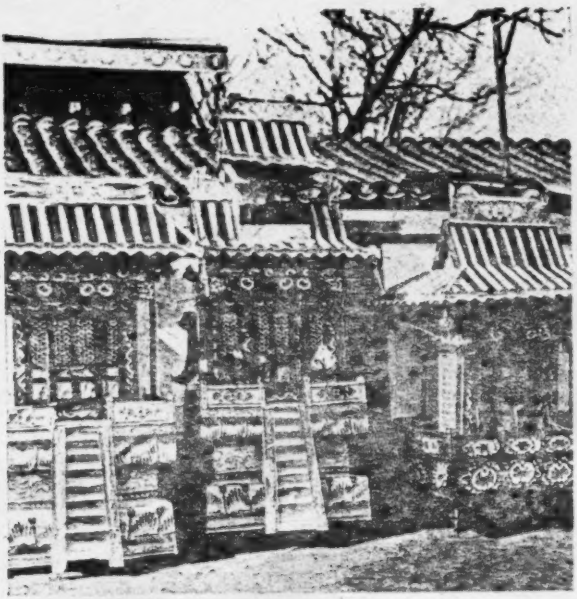

HOUSES FOR THE OTHER WORLD

These are burned to provide a home for the spirit of the deceased.

PAPER SERVANTS

They will offer the spirit of the deceased the wash-basin and towel, tea and cakes they carry in their hands.

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actually received for his work during the year. All government school-teachers were paid irregularly, and he received only half of his salary of $30 a month. Four months of the year, he received no salary at all. In order to meet his expenses for the year, including those for the funeral, he sold some property for $100, collected $67 of outstanding loans, and borrowed $276, most of it from his father-in-law.

His wife and his wife's father were Christians, but that fact did not seem to have any special influence on the amount spent for the funeral. The coffin cost $25, the carriers $15, the musicians $5. Digging and closing the grave and tips to the caretaker amounted to $3.20. As the funeral was in June, an awning, rented for $3.20, was stretched over the courtyard in place of the usual mat pavilion. The rent of tables and chairs was $2.50. Food for the feast cost some $16; service and tips, $9; wine for the guests, $3.40; tobacco, $2.60. Fresh flowers for the funeral cost $3.40; the paper cart, paper money, et cetera, $4; carts for the funeral, $1.90. Health expenses previous to the wife's death amounted to $55.25.

Friends and relatives attending the funeral contributed $47, or enough to cover almost half the cost of the funeral. A large part of this possibly came from the wife's family, who may have been specially generous because of the financial difficulties of the teacher.

Funeral No. 9

When the mother of a clerk in one of the electric companies died, the company gave him six months' extra salary, or $300. He spent $279 of this for the funeral, so it was an unusually fine one. The itemized accounts could not be secured, but the usual funeral expenses, coffin, carriers, et cetera, amounted to $178. Besides this, $11 was spent for paper money, figures, houses, boxes, et cetera, to be burned at the grave; $10 for mourning cloth; and $80 for the funeral feast. No money presents were reported.

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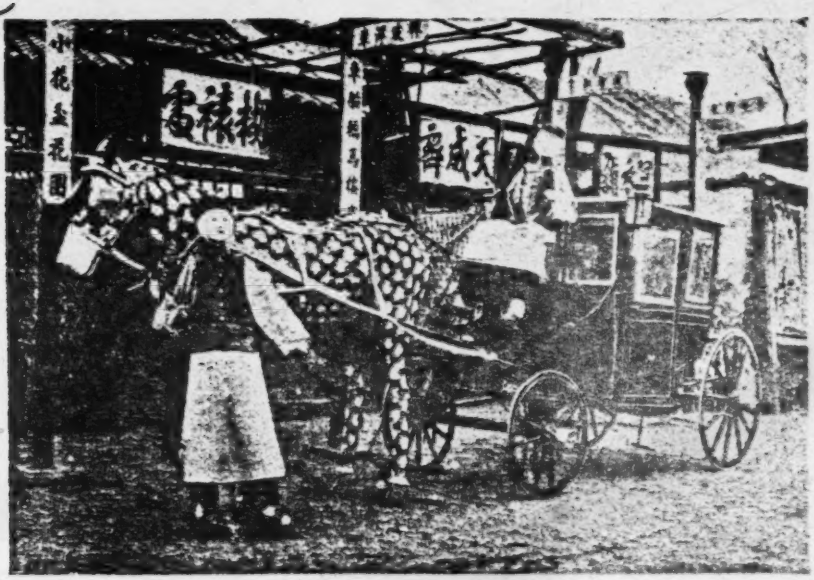
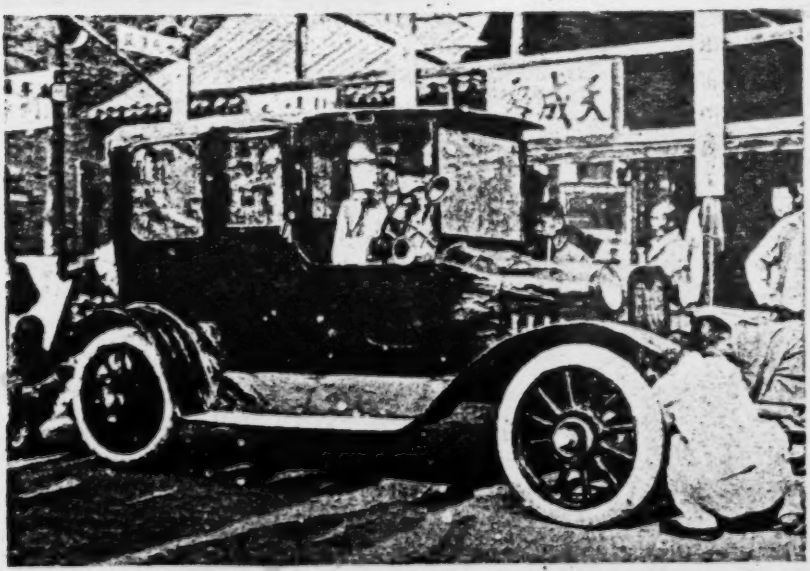


CARRIAGE FOR USE IN THE OTHER WORLD



MOTOR CAR FOR THE OTHER WORLD

After passing through fire these vehicles will be available when needed by the spirit of the deceased.

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Funeral No. 10

765 *511 When two brothers, seventeen and fourteen years old, lost their widowed mother, they spent $29.15 for her funeral, even though the older brother was earning only $13 a month as a ricksha man, and there was a deficit in the family budget. Relatives and friends came to their help, and the funeral presents amounted to $33.20, or more than enough to cover all the funeral expenses.

Funeral No. 11

764 *511 Three sons, when they buried their eighty-year-old mother, gave her a funeral that cost $194.30, or more than three months' income. The average monthly income was $62.15, a little more than half of which was from the rent of property. The remainder was from the wages of the three sons, a peddler, a teacher, and a clerk.

The coffin cost $57; bringing the coffin to the house, $3; and putting the body into the coffin, $1. The cost of the grave-clothes was $16. The musicians and coffin carriers were given $27; the priests $10; and the diviner, who picked out the proper day for the funeral and the proper place for the grave, $3. The men who prepared and closed the grave received $2.75. The burial permit cost $1. The paper cart, horse, money, et cetera, burned as part of the funeral, cost $5.30; a garland of white paper flowers for the coffin, $1; and the single white paper flowers worn by the guests, 50 cents. Only $1.50 was paid for the carts that followed the coffin, so there must have been few female relatives to go to the cemetery. The family included only one daughter-in-law and two granddaughters. The male mourners walk in front of the catafalque.

The feast cost $40.90 for food and service, and $5.25 for fuel. The rent of the mat pavilion, tables, chairs, was $5; and $1 for the lamp used to light the pavilion.

Friends and relatives contributed $41.60 toward the funeral expenses. The other $150 came from savings and borrowing.